FOR Fellowship

• April, 1951 • Vol. XVII—No. 4 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a ye

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APR 7 1951
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If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history. We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors. If we make new discoveries and inventions in the phenomenal world, must we declare our bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule?

Mohandas K. Gandhi

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OF RELIGION

The Age of the Big Trap, by Norman Cousins

The General Goes to Rome, by Juliet Stuart

Prisoners of a Forgotten War, by Russell L. Durgin

Basic Training for Peace, by John Oliver Nelson

We Are Made for Reality, by Allan A. Hunter

Pacifists and Civil Defense

ff Pushed relentlessly back and forth, up and down the Korean peninsula by the seesaw tide of the fighting, the Korean people are certainly the victims of the War of the Hopeless Civilians. What this is like at first hand is described by the Editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature,* Norman Cousins. . . . A note from Juliet Stout in Italy gives Americans an insight into the feelings of Europeans that our newspapers seldom give us. . . . What to do about Civil Defense? At a recent conference at Pendle Hill pacifist leaders discussed this, and FELLOWSHIP presents a summary of the points put forth. . . . Russell Durgin of the YMCA, former missionary to Japan, reports on the repatriation of Japanese prisoners of war, and on the war criminals. . . . John Oliver Nelson tells about this summer's Training Unit, where young pacifists will be trained in pacifist education and techniques, and by means of which the FOR expects to build up a reservoir of dedicated, trained young leaders throughout the country . . . and Allan Hunter contributes a meditation.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

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New York 32, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship
the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation
April, 1951 Vol. XVII—No. 4

The General Goes to Rome

By JULIET STOUT

ON THE 18TH OF JANUARY, EISENhower was in town. He arrived at 9:00, the night of the 17th. He was met at the airport by cordons of police, armed soldiers and civil guards. At every twenty meters along the road leaving the airport, soldiers were placed, fully armed. Thus was our representative of peace and democracy greeted in Rome. According to many Italian people of varying political opinions, only once before during this century have similar precautions been taken in Rome to insure the safety of a foreign visitor: Hitler's visit to Mussolini in 1938. When I went down town to Piazza di Spangna and Piazza Barbarini the next morning, I began to realize what it must have been like to live under a fascist regime. Every streetcar and bus had at least one armed member of either the civil guard or the army on board, sometimes both. In almost every doorway in the center of town, more than one soldier (and sometimes as many as thirty) was stationed. The streets surrounding the hotel where General Ike stayed were roped off to traffic; soldiers and police lined the pavements, and soldiers on motor cycles with machine guns strapped to their sides roared through the streets. Back of his hotel, up the hill in the Villa Borghese, jeep after jeep filled with armed men were lined up. Army transport trucks, each holding about thirty men, were parked along a whole block. Every street that Ike's car traveled on was barred to traffic, and streetcars had to change their routes. What were they afraid of? Just the Communists?

THE Communist-backed Italian General Confederation of Labor under di Vittorio had ordered a general strike and meeting in protest of Eisenhower's visit. The next day, the Rome *Daily American* said that the Communists had ordered a general strike and protest meet-

ing in the Colle Oppio. This is grossly inaccurate. Di Vittorio, a Communist, got into office with the backing of Socialists and Republicans as well as Communists. Every paper on the newsstand that was not an organ of the government urged the people to go to the protest meeting and very obviously expressed disapproval of the purpose of Ike's visit. The government itself had issued orders to the effect that any persons working in government institutions would be fired if they failed to appear at work that day. High school children were threatened with dismissal if they did not go to school. In other words, Italy became again a police state. The American paper boasted the next day of the orderliness that prevailed throughout the day and the fact that the Communist demonstration was a fizzle. It would interest me to know what they expected the Communists to do. Every time notice has been given of a Communist demonstration, we have expected brawling and rioting. Then when it is carried off in an orderly fashion, the papers jeer at them for their weakness! Today's paper said, ". . . after the humiliating outcome of the anti-Eisenhower demonstration. . . ." It looks to me as if we want them to do something they can be reproached for!

THE trams and buses stopped running at 4:30 in the afternoon in spite of the army. I doubt very much if this means that every streetcar and bus operator in Rome is a Communist. And they certainly could not have been under much Communist pressure with an armed man or men standing over them to prevent, I suppose, a walkout. As for the meeting, we both went to that. There were over 10,000 people there. Certainly they were not all Communists. Di Vittorio spoke. The theme was "Go home, Ike; we don't want to rearm; we have had enough war we want peace." The people chanted "Pace, Pace" over and over again. These, I would say, are the sentiments of the majority of the Italian people. And the French. And the Germans. And probably the English. And this, apparently, is wrong. The meeting was surrounded by troops. Every side street was blocked by jeeps, trucks and foot soldiers, most carrying machine guns. Squadrons of police were gathered in knots, swinging truncheons. I saw several water trucks cruising around. These are nice little machines—trucks filled with water, with huge movable nozzles which are directed at a mob in case of trouble. The spray is powerful enough to seriously injure and probably kill people.

THE European market is flooded with American goods. Coca Cola signs are almost as plentiful in France and Italy as at home. Every other filling station along a European road is an Esso or Shell station.

Remember!

In the March issue of FELLOWSHIP a new idea was broached for reaching your friends and neighbors with the pacifist idea. *Don't overlook it.* If you haven't yet written for sets of the material, make your plans and do it today!

THIS IS WHAT IT'S LIKE
IN WARTIME, IN KOREA, IN

The Age of the Big Trap

By NORMAN COUSINS

TAEGU, KEY CITY in South Korea and the military headquarters of the United Nations forces, can tell you more about our age and the world we live in than a convention of historians. This is where the principal problems of the Twentieth Century come into sharp and dramatic focus. And this is where the predicament of the individual in our time is defined with blazing intensity.

In the classroom of Taegu there are 750,000 teachers—all of them supremely qualified experts. They know all there is to know about war, political terror, hunger, homelessness, and heartbreak. They are the war refugees. Three times they had to carry their packs and their little worlds on their backs. Three times they have tried to outrun violence and failed. Ever since the Communist breakthrough in North Korea and especially since the fall of Seoul and Suwon they have been streaming into Taegu. They have been coming into Taegu not because they expect that Taegu can hold out but because they expect that the Americans will help them find food and refuge somewhere. Moreover, Taegu is the funnel to the southern tip of Korea —the farthest you can go before the battlefield runs into the sea.

All day I watched them—countless thousands of them—as they pressed into Taegu. They came in the snow and the rain. They came by truck and bicycle and oxcart. They came in open freight cars, piled high atop each other until they spilled over the sides and ends, clinging to the rungs, riding between the cars, hugging the iron underbelly. But mostly they came on foot, lugging their cumbersome bundles and carrying their babies on their backs. One woman I saw was pregnant and seemed to be approaching full term; she had a year-old infant strapped to her back and a three-year-old in her arms. On her head she balanced a large blanket-tied bundle. Her husband was not with her. Another young woman of perhaps twenty-five, one shoe missing, was frantically cutting in and out of the crowd, looking for a missing child. There were many lost children from which to choose. You seldom saw complete families.

Ready to Give Up

A venerable Korean man of seventy, wearing the traditional clothes and the tall stovepipe hat of the Korean patriarchs, was coughing blood and seemed ready to give up. Other elderly men and women, heavy bags on their heads or backs, struggled to keep up with the procession. Their faces were taut, their eyes deep-set and blank. A young girl of fifteen or sixteen became hysterical and started to hit out at the military vehicles trying to squeeze through. She slapped at the cars with rags and laughed and screamed with mad delight as they

veered to avoid hitting her. Another girl of about the same age, her head swathed in a bulky, dirty bandage, wandered around just looking.

More and More

They kept coming and coming, clogging the heart of the city, and they put down their bundles and waited. Near the large open area of the railroad station they jammed the main thoroughfares, making it difficult for the rolling machines of war—the lorries and supply trucks and darting jeeps—to get through. Every once in a while screeching brakes would announce a near-accident, and not infrequently someone would be hit. Then the Korean military police would rush into action, yelling and screaming at the people and using their menacing submachine guns as prods. Every once in a while, too, the police would have to clear a path through the crowd for the marching Korean soldiers on their way to the front. They sang as they marched, their loud but uneven voices clashing with the sounds of the crowd and the banging, banging, banging of the heavy trucks bouncing along the hard, rutted roads.

The problem of getting military transportation through the city on the main north-south road became increasingly acute. Along about five o'clock on the afternoon of my second day in Taegu two-way traffic became impossible and the United Nations military police worked furiously to reroute traffic from the north in order to give right of way on the main road to supply trucks moving up to the fighting front.

During the night the authorities apparently made a heart-breaking decision. I learned about it when I returned to the vicinity of the railroad station in the morning. The entire area had been blocked off. I was startled to see that the streets were virtually empty. I went up to an American M.P. directing the fast-moving, two-way traffic and asked him about it.

"They were sent back north last night," he said simply. I was certain I had misunderstood him and asked him to repeat.

"Just like I said, mister. North, north, north. Orders came through last night."

I could hardly believe it. "Why didn't send them back into that hell?" I asked. "You're not serious?"

"Look, mister," he said with some irritation. "I only told you what I know. Traffic was all fouled up. Orders came to clear them out. They put road blocks on the roads going south to keep the refugees from jamming these roads any more than they are now. The only place left to send them was north, on the other side of the river where they can fan out so's not to stop traffic. Most of them are trying to get back into the city again but they tell me the road up there is pretty well sealed off."

The M.P. remained silent a moment. He had a faraway look as though he had seen something he was trying hard to forget.

"You oughta be able to figure it out for yourself," he said. "It was plenty rough. It turned my stomach. First the Korean police tried to get them up off their bags and on their feet so's to start moving. But soon as the people realized what was up they sat down hard and closed their ears. Then the police waded into them like they was so much cattle, working them over with the

butt ends of their guns and clubs, screaming and yelling at them, and shoving them forward. Once they started moving the toughest part was over. They were pushed in that direction"—he pointed north—"and the police kept riding herd until the street was cleared and they were out of the city." He looked at me, then turned away.

Nothing to Be Done

"Okay, mister, you needn't look at me like I did it. No one could do nothing about it. You couldn't do nothing if you tried. That's just it in this mucked-up war—people getting the hell kicked out of them no matter what they do or where they turn and no one can do nothing. I kept wanting to yell out at the Korean police as these people were being pushed back towards the Commies. I wanted to say, 'Stop shoving, you stupid bastards. These are the people we're supposed to be liberating, remember? Put down those rifle butts and leave these people alone, leave 'em rest.'

"Sure, it was easy to want to say it," the M.P. continued, "but who would listen? What good would it do? So I just watched hard, like you're watching me now."

Taegu is symbolic of our time as is perhaps no other city in the world, not excluding Hiroshima. It symbolizes most of all the individual in retreat and without refuge. It symbolizes the Age of the Great Trap—a trap which not only awaits but pursues the individual. One by one the escape hatches are being closed down. Man's sanctuaries are becoming increasingly rare, increasingly remote. Instead there are clubs and rifle ends to beat him back. He is being ground down into impersonal animation.

Has there ever been a time when so many people in so many places were thus desperately seeking escape from political terror or from war? Has there ever been a time when there were so many locked doors? Once not so long ago the refugee captured the conscience of more fortunate peoples. A single individual fleeing from injustice or misery would find other individuals and even nations springing to his defense. An earthquake would erupt and several hundreds would be made homeless; instantly mercy would be mobilized and put into action.

Out of Control

But today there is the feeling that the problem has gone out of hand. The challenge is so great that a bad case of heart-hardening has set in. Those on the outside, in failing to provide a refuge for the unfortunate and the damned, have synthesized a refuge of their own. Their escape is safety in numbers. If the tragedy engulfs enough people it apparently loses its raw edge of reality, converting benefactors into spectators.

But the greatest tragedy of all, perhaps, is the fatal separation between man caught in the great trap and man who wants to help but cannot. Consider the case of the American M.P. completely hemmed in by legalisms and uniforms and regulations and conditions beyond his control. "I couldn't do nothing about it," he said, and he was right. His helplessness was formalized, certified, underwritten by society itself. For he, too, is caught in a giant trap too large to argue with or comprehend. The problem

is not proximity; indeed you are close enough to touch, but no matter how close you get there is no contact. It is a nightmare in which the drowning man reaches out to grasp an outstretched hand only to find nothingness, in which, too, the man in the boat reaches out to help only to find himself shrouded in futility.

No one knows what the military outcome of the campaign in Korea will be. We are facing great odds and we may not be able to hold on. But if we are forced to abandon Korea we need not also abandon the Korean people in whose name we declared we went into Korea in the first place. This planet is much smaller than it used to be and it is shrinking fast, but it is not so small that there is no room on it for people who believed us when we proclaimed ourselves their friends and benefactors.

Is there any reason why we should not bring this issue before the United Nations, pressing hard and mightily for an adequate program in behalf of the Koreans? It would require an armada of ships that would dwarf Dunkirk, and many nations would have to come forward to offer a haven until such time at least as the world becomes sane again. It would be the largest operation in the name of mercy and simple justice in our age.

Faced with such a challenge it can be expected that self-proclaimed "realists" and "practical" men—the men of stunted conscience and mechanical reflexes—will come forward and find a thousand reasons why this cannot be done. They will talk about immigration quotas and overcrowding and insufficient shipping and unemployment and all the other supposedly practical objections to such a mobilization for mercy. And if the people of America and the free world have turned cold they will listen to these practical men and continue to count their conveniences instead of their obligations. But if there is still something left in us which is willing to face up to any challenge so long as the cause is just—then all seeming impossibilities can be thrust aside.

We have spoken a great deal about the need to invoke bold visions at a time of unrest and ideological conflict. Here is a chance to do something that might electrify the world's imagination and give us a moral standing in history which no amount of military misfortune could offset.

(Reprinted from THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, *February 10, 1951, by permission.)*

Prayer

Fearless and unconquerable Gentleness, touch, calm and embolden us and all men. Take from our frightened hands the bomb and bayonet. Arm us in spirit instead. Arm all us fellow sinners with compassionate faith in one another, through the courage of our faith in Thee, that where we come in every land, life enter and not death.

—SARAH CLEGHORN

THIS SUMMER THE F.O.R. WILL TRY SOMETHING NEW AND EXCITING, WITH

Basic Training for Peace

By JOHN OLIVER NELSON

FACING ANOTHER MILITARY upsurge in America, what does the Christian pacifist witness most urgently need? The answer seems to be that top priority must go to building *a nucleus of dedicated young Christian pacifists with (1) deep perspective about what this claim has meant and now means in human history, (2) inner poise and balance based upon spiritual serenity and shared fellowship, and (3) thoughtful, adaptable techniques to reach ordinary citizens in a military-minded society.*

If we are to have such a working group of youth, however large or small, the only way to get it would seem to be a solid course of study, group spiritual discipline and worship, and direct action. The "tired pacifist" of postwar days, going along with his long-ago-adopted peace views, is not ready for this job. The mature scholar who can see the theological and ethical and historical dimension of pacifism is usually unable or unwilling to face current issues as they hit the student-age groping pacifist. Too often, also, the student-age pacifist himself is asked to take stands and push direct action projects for which he is unprepared with adequate facts and devotional resource. More, he is likely to regard pacifism as an attitude relevant only in wartime, and somehow left in suspension between military crises even when confronting injustice in race, minorities, penal systems, capital punishment, and other areas of human interrelations.

Can there be trained, in an eight-week period of intensive emphasis, a score of the best young people pacifism knows, to meet such a situation? This year the Fellowship of Reconciliation is pointing the main impact of its summer program at a new project, The Pacifist Training Unit, to work at this problem. Details may well be of concern to every pacifist, Christian or non-Christian, who knows that our whole position must be deepened and sharpened if we are to face the next years with confidence.

Who Is Needed

First, who will be members of the Training Unit? It is hoped that the ablest, most articulate, most broad-visioned college-age pacifists in our Fellowship (or near to it) may be nominated by FOR members anywhere in the country. If you know such a young person (14 men and 6 women are the maximum for our quota), *write to the FOR* about him or her, and an application will be sent immediately to the person you nominate. All nominations are to be in *by May 1, 1951.*

Second, what will it cost? Train-

ing Unit members are asked to get to the center, at Peekskill-on-Hudson, on their own, but the eight-week period there and in projects will be fully financed by the FOR for all members.

Third, what are the dates? June 18 supper through August 18 lunch.

The Program

Fourth, what is the program? The Unit will begin with three weeks of disciplined study and group life in a rambling farmhouse, with classes, visiting pacifist leaders, set hours of Christian worship, and manual chores all part of the experience. Then a three-week period will be spent in action projects, with all members of the group going out to interpret pacifism in presentations to camps and conferences, in churches, settlement houses, summer student projects, programs for migrants, small-town peace caravans, or similarly varied spots. Following this divided experience, the whole group returns to Peekskill for two weeks of evaluation and further integrated training. Possibly some members will wish to work on into the autumn in subsistence itineration for the FOR or the pacifist cause, but the formal program will be ended on August 18.

Who will teach and lead? A dean and a coordinator will share primary responsibility, the latter being Bayard Rustin of the FOR staff. A number of men and women with special contributions of fact and of spirit will visit the Training Unit for a day or several days to share their resources with the group. For living arrangements, a woman house-director at the farmhouse will take charge.

What long-term outcomes will be expected? Chiefly that there will be a team of deeply informed, poised young pacifists who have worked out a discipline and strategy together, basing their pacifism soundly on Christian and historical analysis. Any Training Unit alumnus will be counted on as an articulate and dependable worker for the pacifist emphasis and the FOR program during the years ahead.

What, then, is asked of FOR members about this? (1) That you do nominate any key young person of college-age, (2) that you write to the FOR about any special concern you have for the program, (3) that you pray specifically for its effectiveness, in FOR and church groups and individually, and (4) that you send a contribution, if you can spare it, outside your ordinary FOR amount, earmarked to help carry the expense of The Pacifist Training Unit. As the hopes and intentions of the membership are focussed upon what happens at Peekskill this summer, we may discover a new unanimity and depth in the whole witness of the Fellowship.

When in the face of an upheaval such as we are witnessing, there are only a few individuals of immovable faith, they have to live up to their faith even though they may produce no visible effect upon the course of events. They should believe that their action will produce tangible results in due course.

—MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

Pacifists and Civil Defense

The following is a brief summary of a discussion on Civil Defense held at Pendle Hill February 5 and 6, 1951, under the auspices of the Consultative Peace Council. It is published not as a formal or definitive statement but as suggestive and as a preliminary to a more thorough study of the problems which pacifists and other citizens face in connection with Civil Defense programs.

PARTICIPATION in Civil Defense programs is often urged on the ground that their objective is to provide succor for people caught in disasters such as bombing, and presumably everyone ought to be willing and eager to assist in such matters and to undertake training so that this assistance may be as efficient as possible. Pacifists do want to share fully in meeting human needs, and not least in times of overwhelming disaster. We do not want to wait until called upon, much less conscripted, to render utmost help in such situations. It seems advisable that pacifists in local communities throughout the country should make this clear from the outset, and it seemed clear to the group that those in charge of a church or school, for example, might indicate in reply to a query from a defense organization that the building would be available to house refugees fleeing from a bombed area.

Defense programs are, however, not confined to calm, efficient preparation against possible disaster. For one thing, the atmosphere in which so-called defense activities are carried on is usually that of preparedness for war and development of a war psychology, including hatred of the enemy. Not seldom this serves to maintain and further whip up the hysteria against liberal ideas and persons which is already far too rife. Such preoccupation with the idea of war, and acceptance of war as inevitable, may itself help to bring on the war which would be an indescribable catastrophe. *The main concern of Americans today should be to prevent the man-made disaster of war.* Pacifists will devote themselves primarily to this task and decline participation in so-called defense activities which mainly result in building up a war psychology.

In this connection it was noted that there might well be an important difference between certain activities at a time when war is actually on and disaster has occurred or is clearly imminent—in legal terms where there is "a clear and present danger"—and the same activities in peace time. Experience in other countries seems to have demonstrated that there may be much waste of money and effort involved in elaborate "defense" activities and training in peace time. Attention was called to a report from England, appearing in *The Friend*, January 8, 1942, to the effect that Friends and others "stood aside from the organizations under civil defense" in the early days, in part because of a feeling

that until the emergency actually came, it was difficult to see just where the human need would be greatest; in part because of a wish not to get enmeshed in the war machine. The prevailing opinion among pacifists in Britain is that "this waiting policy was justified by events." It would seem that by not rushing into "defense" activities, even though in themselves they appear innocuous, American pacifists today may help to contribute to maintaining the spirit of calm and freedom from fear which is now so important, and be the better able to render efficient aid if disaster should actually come.

Not only are "defense" programs often carried on in an *atmosphere* of war preparation but there is an actual link at many points between the civil defense program and the military machine and its activities. Since by definition pacifists cannot take part in war, this is another reason why they should exercise great care about being drawn into civil defense work. An action has to be considered in its context, and if it is a part of a war machine a pacifist will desire to avoid it, just as a loyal citizen may have no objection in ordinary circumstances to make it known that he is not a Communist and yet refuse to take a "loyalty oath." It is suggested, therefore, that even if pacifists undertake to engage in some specific activity, for example in connection with fire fighting, they may wish to keep off civil defense committees which might easily involve being gradually made part of the war machine. Secondly, they will presumably wish to bear witness to their pacifist convictions in such situations, making it clear that it is out of concern for human need and not any desire to support war that they share in humanitari activities.

A special concern was expresse over reports that in a considerab number of places defense progra are carried out in such a way as develop war-mindedness and some instances feelings of terror children. Similar concern was f over the tendencies illustrated a county civil defense publicati which stated that "school autho ties should 'clean house' of Co munistic-tainted Liberal (si teachers and their dangerous a insidious effects on young mind It is clearly necessary to try to d termine what measures may necessary for the physical prote tion of children and to see to that school systems confine the selves to carrying out such mea ures. Any attempt to use the ci defense organization as an instr ment to intervene in school poli to produce conformity in teache to secure the dismissal of teache of independent spirit, etc., shou be regarded as completely ina missible, and should be resiste A special responsibility rests, in such matters affecting the scho and civil liberties, on individua and groups in local communiti throughout the country.

Possible Conscription

An important new issue will raised for pacifists if, as has ha pened in other countries, conscri tion is introduced in connecti with the civil defense progra There were several hundred pa fists, including a considerable nu ber of women, in England duri World War II who suffered i prisonment after conscription civil defense had been introduc though in a number of instan

they had been willing or even eager to render voluntarily the service now imposed upon them. Others did not feel it necessary to protest at this point. Even these, however, stated: "They realize that by registering they may commit themselves not only to participation in an organization called Civil Defense, the line between which and offensive action is becoming increasingly thin, but also to acceptance of the principle of rigid regimentation of a man's life."

Finally, it was recognized that in this as in other matters equally sincere and courageous pacifists would be led to draw the line at various points. In deciding where to draw the line all would recognize two sets or types of values and the need of effecting a balance or integration between them in shaping their course from day to day. One set of values consists in the maximum of identification with all human beings, especially in suffering; the maintenance of fellowship with all men, however their views differ from ours; the desire to live as good citizens in a democratic society and to obey the laws, save where this means violation of conscience; and the impulse to minister to human need. Another set of values springs from our commitment to the "life which taketh away the occasion of all war" and our faith in the dignity and freedom of the human person, in "that of God in every man," which forbids us to take part in war and war preparation or in the denial of liberty to, and imposition of slavery on, human beings. Saying "No" to war and regimentation, being careful not to cooperate in them, and bearing our witness against them, are also, therefore, essential expressions of our way of life.

Communion with People

Our community or communion is primarily with human beings rather than with systems and institutions. As some one has phrased it: "No line is to be drawn against any human being; we draw the line, therefore, against cooperation with anything that divides, enslaves or destroys human beings."

Contemporary Saint

Modesty that would seem a mask,
A shielding from the actual
In men of less integrity,
Befits him well.
His ways and words are one with it.

Faith that would be a presumptuous bridge
For novices to venture on
Bears him from seen to unseen
Because he keeps the law
"If ye abide in me . . . ask what ye will. . . ."

—Elinor Lennen

STILL BEHIND BARS—SOME STILL WAITING TRIAL—THESE "WAR CRIMINALS" SEEM ALMOST—

Prisoners of a Forgotten War

By RUSSELL L. DURGIN

Member of the American Committee, International FOR; International YMCA Secretary working with Japanese repatriates and war criminals

THE END OF WORLD WAR II found large numbers of Japanese, soldiers and civilians, scattered all over the Far East. About a million were in American-controlled areas, including the Philippines, the Ryukyu Islands, Hawaii, South Korea, and the islands of the Pacific, and the same number in British-controlled Hong Kong, New Zealand, Australia and other territories. China and Formosa had more than two million, and an even larger number heard the news of surrender in Soviet-controlled Manchuria, North Korea, Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands or Siberia.

Many of these millions were soldiers drafted for the war and eager to return home, but others—many thousands of them—were civilian administrators and "colonists" of Japan's abruptly-terminated empire and other countries. Some of them had not seen Japan for a generation; their children had been born far from the home islands. All of these had their orders from the government: soldiers were to lay down their arms and all were to submit to the authorities of their region and await repatriation.

In Japan the government organized the Repatriation Bureau of the Ministry of Welfare, under Soichi Saito, the General Secretary of the Japanese YMCA. Reception centers were set up at fifteen places from Hokkaido to Kyushu, and the Bureau set itself to solve its biggest problem: the lack of shipping resulting from the almost complete destruction of the Japanese merchant fleet. In this it had the active cooperation of the Occupation authorities, who put 185 ships at its disposal.

Government and public alike felt deep concern for the repatriates, and active support was extended to the Repatriation Bureau by many individuals and organizations. The official government report issued on July 1, 1950, expresses deep appreciation to various individuals, as well as to such organizations as the International Red Cross, YMCA, Licensed Agencies of Relief in Asia (LARA), the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the Women's Associations, for helping make possible the completion of this tremendous task.

By the end of December, 1946, less than a year and a half after the end of the war, approximately five million Japanese had been returned to Japan, and about two million Chinese and Koreans had been sent back to their homes. Late in 1946,

following protracted negotiations, an agreement was reached between the Occupation authorities and the Soviet government, which resulted in some of the million and more Japanese beginning to return from Siberia.

A Repatriate's Progress

The typical repatriate debarked at one of the reception centers into the beginning of his "processing." All that he had been allowed to take with him was what he could carry. For the civilian, this meant that he had had to leave practically all his material possessions, with no hope of ever regaining them.

During the first days, the repatriate went through quarantine and customs inspection. He had medical treatment, when needed, along with a haircut and a hot bath, and a supply of clothing and toilet articles. While this was going on he inspected the exhibits set up by the various prefectures, and got advice on employment possibilities from all over the country. Japanese flower arrangements, displays of school children's paintings and other evidences of "home environment" had a tremendous psychological influence. When he had decided on his destination he was given a railway ticket and started on his journey "home."

The Red Cross, as well as members of students' and women's groups, met him at all large stations with tea, cakes and a word of encouragement, as well as other material and spiritual manifestations of the nation-wide "Love of Repatriates Movement." Government and private assistance in helping find shelter and employment was extended to all who were in special need.

Most of these had been returned from American, British or Chinese-controlled areas; for those caught in North Korea or Manchuria, and subsequently taken to Siberia, there was a different story. During 1947 and early 1948, a large number were sent back from Siberia, but they were largely those who were sick or otherwise unwanted by the Communists.

There followed a protracted period of inaction, and then repatriation was resumed in June, 1949. The new repatriates proved to have gone through an intensive course of Communist indoctrination. Demonstrations and noncooperation characterized every move. Many ignored the welcome reception and refused to greet their families, insisting that their first responsibility was to proceed in a body to the Communist headquarters in Tokyo.

Careful observation later, however, indicated that most of the Russian conditioning wore off under the influence of normal life. The cordial welcome from their townsfolk, and the gradual realization that the true world situation was not what they had been told, resulted in a rather early discard of the high-pressure indoctrination processes of four or five years.

A year ago Soviet authorities announced that all Japanese from Siberia had been repatriated, although Japanese records estimated that there were still 369,382 unaccounted for. It was recognized that many of these probably had died and that others were being held as convicted war criminals, but the actual location of still others was known from the testimony of those who had returned or from letters received by relatives.

Arrangements finally were made for a committee of three, headed by

Mr. Saito, to visit the United States as unofficial observers at the United Nations in connection with representations to be made at the recent General Assembly on the "Complaint against the Soviet government regarding the unaccounted-for war prisoners." The problem was referred to the Commission on Human Rights, which after several days' debate adopted a resolution by a vote of 43 to 5, subsequently approved by the General Assembly, providing for a three-man board to investigate the fate of the up to 1,500,000 unrepatriated Japanese, German and Italian war prisoners not accounted for following World War II.

This Commission is to be chosen by the International Red Cross, or, if this is not feasible, to be appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations. Opposition by the Soviet bloc may make it impossible for it to gain access to areas where prisoners are reported to be confined, but at least a significant moral victory was won. Probably an aroused world opinion is the only hope of real action.

The "War Criminals"

Japan's other "prisoner" problem related to those returned under escort, or rounded up in Japan by the Occupation, for crimes committed "against peace, humanity or for conventional war crimes." These were the "war criminals," rather than "prisoners of war." Twenty-eight of these were classified as "major offenders," and tried in an international tribunal. The trials lasted more than two and a half years; seven received the death sentence, sixteen life imprisonment, one twenty years in prison and another seven years.

A year ago I visited and talked with a number of the prisoners in the penitentiary near Manila. Their continued incarceration so long after the war and so far away from their families creates a heart-breaking human problem. In Kyoto, I talked with the wife and little boy of one of these prisoners. Just at the end of our conversation the boy, who might have been nine years old, held out his right arm and said, "Tell them they can cut off my arm if my father's life is spared." Later in the Philippines prison, the father said, "He was just a baby when I last saw my home."

—From a report by JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

The remaining three died during the trials.

All lesser war criminals were tried before national courts. American courts were set up in Yokohama, and others were tried in China, the Philippines, Singapore, etc. Those accused by Australia were detained in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo for four years without charges, but finally last year were transferred to Manus Island, near Australia, for military trial. The distance makes a proper defense difficult and expensive, but protests were unavailing.

The writer, who has lived in Japan since the war, has never sensed any desire on the part of thoughtful Japanese to try to have justly convicted criminals removed from the responsibilities imposed upon them by the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. They, with the Japanese nation as a whole, have been brought to a position of profound self-examination.

While many of the trials in the

non-Soviet area were as fair as trials of vanquished by victor can be, there were others that were not, notably in the Philippines. Some cases of quite apparent injustice have resulted from the presence of such factors as a spirit of revenge, racial misunderstandings, and mistaken identity, as well as different definitions of war crimes, linguistic difficulties, varying legal concepts, and hastily organized courts. In not a few cases, actual incompetency of defense lawyers was evident. Review by higher authorities in the Legal Section of SCAP has resulted in most cases in adjustments, reductions of sentences and even commutation. A carefully supervised system of parole has been worked out, and 181 persons have so far been released on parole in Tokyo, including one "major" war criminal. The death sentence for "lesser criminals" convicted in Japan has not yet been carried out, and may be suspended.

Deep concern has been felt in

THE CASE OF THE TWO GENERALS

On September 2, 1945, General Tomoyuki Yamashita, conqueror of Singapore and commander of Japanese forces in the Philippines, surrendered. Atrocities by Japanese against Filipinos and Americans had been severe during the eleven months of his command, and General MacArthur ordered his immediate trial as a war criminal. In due time he was found guilty by a special court of five American generals, and sentenced to be executed. When the Supreme Court refused to review the case, he was executed.

Perhaps nothing more would have been heard of General Yamashita if one of his American officer-defense attorneys had not gotten mad enough about the conduct of the trial to write a book about it. In *The Case of General Yamashita,** A. Frank Reel, labor lawyer and former Army captain, told how he and his colleagues, accepting the assignment unwillingly, gradually became convinced of their "client's" innocence (Yamashita had been in technical command of the troops involved, but actually had been completely out of contact with them) and of their desperate fight for his life before an incompetent court (not one of the "judges" had had any legal training) with an active bias against the defense. He wrote indignantly of the court's acceptance of hearsay evidence and opinion two or three times removed and even of the showing as evidence of an American propaganda movie.

It is doubtful that the last has been heard of Yamashita, though the general himself is dead. As *Time* put it, reporting exasperatedly the forceful and effective "suggestions" of MacArthur's headquarters that Japanese newspapers do not review *The Case* and that a Japanese publishing house give up the idea of publishing it, "Enough Japanese editors had read the book to assure that some day, when the Occupation withdrew, it would emerge from censorship . . . and engender a bitter disillusion."

* University of Chicago Press, $4.

Japan during the past year or more regarding the situation of the convicted prisoners in the Philippine Islands. A Philippine-Japanese Friendship Committee, organized in 1949 by the Philippine National YMCA, has been cooperating with a similar committee in Tokyo in making representations to Philippine legal authorities in certain specific cases. The immediate purpose of these committees has been to facilitate an appropriate review of these cases on the basis of justice and humanitarian considerations, but later to help in aiding the rebuilding of a sound foundation of Christian friendship between individuals and groups in Japan and the Philippine Islands.

As of December 1, 1950, there were still in prisons under sentence or awaiting trial, the following:

Country	*Death Sentence*	*Life*	*1 to 25 Years*	*Pending*	*Total*
U.S.A.	15	148	543	0	706
China	0	74	96	0	170
Holland	0	29	422	2	453
France	4	18	51	0	73
Australia	4	21	253	39	317
Philippines	75	33	31	0	139
Great Britain	0	57	232	0	289
Burma	0	0	37	0	37
Others	0	13	0	0	13
Totals	98	393	1665	41	2197

There is real cause for continued concern at several points. Even after five years, the trials still are going on in Australia.[1] None of the 75 sentenced to death in the Philippines have had review decisions handed down, and it seems probable that some will be executed, if they have not been already.[2] Moreover, many of those who are serving their sentences abroad are suffering physically and psychologically because of mental and physical strain and from domestic troubles resulting from inadequate contact and correspondence with their families at home.

Three actions would serve to im-

IFOR COMMENT

The Council of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation . . . urgently calls upon the governments concerned to return as quickly as possible to more equitable administration of justice by abolishing special tribunals and all regulations forcing people accused under charges of collective crime to prove their innocence; as the war has been over for more than five years, to adopt methods of procedure which put an end to excessive judicial delays; to order that the death penalty be no longer either imposed or exacted; to review all sentences thus far pronounced; to afford those under sentence conditions of imprisonment permitting reasonable contact with their families. . . .

WOUDSCHOTEN, HOLLAND
July, 1950

[1] Since this was written, Australian war crimes courts in the Admiralty Islands have sentenced two Japanese to death and three to prison terms, and acquitted nine others.

[2] Early in March the news was released that fourteen of these Japanese have been executed by the Philippine government.

prove the situation immeasurably:

1. All remaining death sentences should be commuted.

2. So far as possible, all war criminals now serving their sentences abroad should be returned to Japan for the completion of their time, so as to be nearer their families and relatives.

3. Every possible effort should be made to help solve the problem of the still unrepatriated prisoners in Siberia, and to help implement the decision of the United Nations for an official investigation and survey of the actual situation.

. . . *And Ye Visited Me*

It was on the same day that I saw the ninety war criminals in Manila. I had these men together in their prison chapel for an hour. The one who translated for me is a brilliant medical doctor, quite innocent—even the Philippine lawyer at the trial vows he is innocent. He wasn't where the crime was committed at the time, but the military wanted him "got," so he was. (Isn't this a new exciting temptation for all military leaders, that now one need not only spread hate to make your men kill the enemy's children in their homes and then hold the whole country down, indefinitely occupying most of the only buildings they have left standing, but also, under the brilliant stimulus of such anti-theological professors as C. S. Lewis' Wormwood, they can now have the enemy's officers hauled up in so-called law courts and have them convicted to life sentences, or death.)

In the middle of my talk to these Japanese men (many of whom have been Christians since '45) in explanation of something I had said, the interpreter, this young doctor and keen Christian, explained, with a low Japanese bow, that this hoped-for repatriation would only apply to the men present whose uniform was red: all those in blue would not be affected by this possible improvement as they are awaiting execution. I could scarcely go on with my talk, for I'd noticed that most of the men crowded into the chapel, many of them standing, were in blue, and so was the interpreter. I heard afterwards the proportion was that seventy were for death out of the ninety present. Afterwards I had a personal goodbye with each of them. They knew I was going to see the wives and children of as many of them as possible. Then they lined up in the yard to see us off, in the two groups, for life and for death.

When I'd gone a few yards, they were led off towards their enclosure. So I stopped to wave. And the whole long line of men in blue, old and young, kept cheerily waving to me, just like boys saying goodbye to their mothers. Even when they reached the barbed wire gate, they kept turning around. It was the equivalent of a cheer, and I knew the messages I'd given them from FOR folk around the world, and the knowledge that such a Fellowship existed, had made them want to cheer, but I wanted to weep. That is a very rare experience!

—From a letter from
MURIEL LESTER

Strength for These Days

We Are Made For Reality

By ALLAN A. HUNTER

WE ARE MADE FOR REALITY. But our egos aren't. Whether individual or collective, their function is to be taken in. Two illusions are particularly popular today. The first is the thesis of most headlines: The darkness we are up against is just out there, in those wicked men. We needn't bother about the beam in our own eye. The second illusion is the unstated assumption of some pulpits: The evil out there is so alive, so practical, so deeply integrated into the structure of reality, that the Christian faith will be wiped out unless it is bolstered up by force you can really depend upon, and that is the capacity to retaliate with atomic bombs. In other words, the devil is stronger than God.

But the evil is right here, inside *us*, as well as abroad. Once we see how deeply, how subtly, the virus has entered into our souls, we are shocked into despair. The temptation now is to let the despair become suicidal. It is on the side of death if it pulls us down into repeating over and over, "Because I sinned I must keep on sinning in the same old inevitable way. That's my nature and nothing can be done about it."

The sin-fixation, however, can give way to a despair that is creative. We have some freedom, enough anyway to take on the responsibility of being realistic. There is no excuse for falling down before the ego, whether it is blow up to size 150,000,000 or size 200,000,000 or size 450,000,000 and whining, "Though thou slay me yet will I trust thee." Ego, no matter how seemingly patriotic, has but one function—to let us down. It offers no genuine hope, absolutely none.

But there is something in us more important and basic than the ego and by its grace we can set out in the direction to which Christ and the most profound experiencers of life unanimously point. We can start groping, digging, crawling toward what we have it in us to become. Far, far back behind the gullible negativism, behind our arrogance pretending to be meekness and the inertia masqueradin as saintliness, is that in us which is able boldly to answer the ultimate nature of things. That bit of it which is inside us has been named the spark, the light, the inward fire, the apex of the soul. To Dostoyevsky it was an interior "Paradise," in some instances so covered up with rubbish as to be almost impossible to believe in. Jesus called this capacity to make the right response the Kingdom of Heaven within. Like a seed under a frozen surface, in our opponent and in us, it may be so hidden as to appear nonexistent. It is there none-the-less. And our job is to let the light from beyond pour upon

(*Continued on page* 32)

News from the Peace Front

Severe Sentences in CO Cases

Robert B. Michener of Hays, Kansas, was sentenced to ten years in jail for refusal to fill out a questionnaire, refusal to report for a physical, and refusal to report for induction. Judge Delmas C. Hill sentenced him, on February 23 in Federal Court in Topeka, to five years on each of the three counts, two of them to run concurrently, so that the total time is ten years. Michener served a previous sentence of a year and a day, beginning in February, 1950, for refusal to register, and was still on parole for this when the new sentence was imposed. He is 19 years old and a junior at the University of Iowa, and is married to Matilda Henderson.

Dwight Platt of Newton, Kansas, was arrested on February 15 for refusal to register, and released on $2,500 bail. On March 2 he pleaded guilty before U. S. District Judge Delmas C. Hill in Wichita, and was to be sentenced sometime later. He was accompanied to court by some 200 supporters, who rose and filed out when his case was over, leaving the courtroom practically empty.

Larry Atkins of Baltimore, Maryland, was sentenced to 4½ years in prison on February 16 for refusal to register. The judge was hostile, and threatened Larry's father, FOR-member Joe Atkins, with prosecution for counseling.

Paul and David Seaver, 18-year-old twins from Prospectville, Pennsylvania, were sentenced to 18 months each by Judge Thomas J. Clary on February 28.

Robert Somers, 21, a University of Chicago student from Rochester, New York, was tried for non-registration in the U. S. District Court in Chicago on February 23, and sentenced to a year and a day in prison. Nine veterans of World War II wrote to the Attorney General in support of Somers and his refusal to register, making themselves liable for prosecution for counseling. They were William H. Andrews, Glen W. Johnson, Sidney Kraus, George Kyncl, John Mellinger, Jack Ross, Herbert Ruben, Kale Williams and Joseph Prachar.

Joel, Orin, Paul and Sidney Doty of Bruno, Minnesota, were arrested January 18 for refusal to register for the draft, and released in $1,000 bail each. They are the sons of FOR-member William N. Doty, who served a sentence in World War I as a conscientious objector. The United Press reported Mr. Doty as declaring that he would "never let my boys fight," but Mr. Doty denies saying this. He supports his sons to the limit, but holds that they and everyone else must choose their own moral course, just as he has tried to do himself. It is possible that, in such an unusual case, the government may prosecute Mr. Doty for counseling.

Roland Roger Thomas of San Diego, California, a Muslim, was sentenced on December 27 for refusal to register. No further details are available yet.

Walter E. Olson, first lieutenant, of Berkeley, California, who ten-

dered his resignation from the reserves, was informed on January 5 that his resignation had been refused by the board of appeal, and that failure to comply if he were ordered to active duty would mean prosecution.

Kenneth Champney, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, who refused to report for induction on January 31, put an advertisement in the Yellow Springs *News* (of which he is part owner) on February 1 explaining his position. Other Ohio papers in which he wished to place the ad refused to take it.

Jean van Lierde, secretary of the Belgian section of the War Resisters International, was imprisoned at Liege when he reported for induction on December 8 but refused to take orders.

Joseph Chabaz refused for the second time to serve in the Reserve Army in Israel, and received a second 21-day sentence. He has apparently now been exempted from service, but without his final status being fixed.

Hanz Santschi, Jehovah's Witness of Zurich, Switzerland, was released on November 30 after serving half of a 29-month sentence.

"Noncombatant Position Purely Academic"

In discussing with an Army chaplain the case of a CO who wanted to resign from the reserves, Glenn Smiley reports, he was told that "the noncombatant position at this moment is purely an academic one." The chaplain said that there is very small comfort in a noncombatant position in that since the Communists "do not recognize the position, neither do we, and medics are armed and are fighting side by side with other soldiers in Korea." If this actually represents the thinking of the armed services, men who are contemplating asking for the IAC position should keep this in mind.

State Laws Affect COs

The Montana legislature in February passed bills barring COs from holding public office, and making it a felony to refuse to serve, either as a combatant or noncombatant, in the armed services. A memorial was also passed urging Congress to remove the CO deferment clause from the Selective Service Act, and urging all other state legislatures to pass similar memorials. Main target of this campaign are the Hutterites, who have several colonies in the state and who refuse to perform any type of military service. Under the one law, even if CO camps were set up nationally, Montanans who went into them rather than into the Army would have been subject to prosecution under the state law and a fine of up to $5,000 and imprisonment of up to five years. On March 6, however, Governor John W. Bonner vetoed the bill. He said that the state did not have jurisdiction over matters that concern the United States Army. A provision prohibiting a convicted CO from owning property was killed in committee.

The Montana Council of Churches, which does not include the Hutterites, was active in the fight against these measures, as were FOR members and other liberals in the area, and one or two news-

papers. A small group of liberals and pacifists wrote a letter which they sent to over a hundred papers defending freedom of conscience and the superior claims of religion above nationalism. The law barring COs from public office may be interpreted to include teachers in state educational institutions, which would affect some of this group. In connection with the letter to the papers, one of them writes: "Faculty members who signed have been called in by their department deans to account for themselves. The American Legion is starting action to have the Navy veteran's commission taken from him. . . . Although we would appreciate any help outsiders can give us by speaking and writing, we realize that there is little you can do. We are prepared to do everything possible to support our position."

In South Dakota a similar attack on COs, again aimed at the Hutterites, was carried on in the legislature. Resolutions asking that COs be drafted have been passed, but three further bills are of much greater significance. They were to repeal the law which allows Hutterite groups to incorporate as communal societies, and force them to reorganize as religious or business corporations. Proponents of the bill charged that the Hutterites put local stores out of business by buying wholesale, that the communities crowd out other farmers, and that they are exempt from taxes, as well as being pacifists; but others claim that they pay as much in taxes as they use in services, for they never go on relief or take any help from local or national governments, insanity and juvenile delinquency are practically unknown, and none has been imprisoned, except COs.

The South Dakota House of Representatives passed this bill, but modified it to provide that, instead of dissolving the communities, they could not acquire any more land. The Senate, however, defeated it by a vote of 22 to 13.

Other states, at the same time, took actions that will benefit COs who served in noncombatant units in the armed forces during the war. Indiana and Washington have recently passed bonus laws which specifically include IAO conscientious objectors in their benefits. On February 19 the Pennsylvania State Welfare Department urged Congress to amend the existing draft law so as to channel COs into institutional jobs. The Department said its mental hospitals are losing attendants to the armed forces and defense plants.

Defense Pamphlet Attacks Free Speech

J. Passmore Elkinton, FOR member and former national Treasurer of the FOR, has brought suit in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, to stop the circulation of an atomic defense pamphlet which he believes attacks free speech. The pamphlet, written by Rear Admiral John V. McEldruff, director of the Delaware County Civil Defense organization, says in part: "The time is ripe for schools of all levels to revert to teaching good old-fashioned Americanism. Students should be guided away from the so-called liberal ideas and warned to avoid their communistic teachings. School authorities should 'clean house' of the communistic-tainted liberal teachers and their dangerous insidious effects on young minds."

Trocmé and Soper Will Speak at Conference

The FOR National Conference, which will be held on the weekend of September 7, 8 and 9 in the Middle West (place to be announced later) will be addressed by Dr. Donald Soper of England and by European FOR Secretary André Trocmé of France.

Dr. Soper is pastor of Kingsway Hall Methodist Church in London, and while he is here will also address the National Conference of Methodist Youth.

André Trocmé was the co-founder, with Edouard Theis, of the College Cevenol in France, and was imprisoned or in hiding during part of the German occupation of France. He is now full-time European FOR secretary, with headquarters at Versailles, just outside of Paris.

No Taxes for Korean War

Convinced that war must inevitably come unless people are prepared individually to refuse support to the warmaking government, a group of almost sixty people issued a statement on March 12 stating their refusal to pay taxes to support the war in Korea or any other war. "We are particularly concerned at this time about the situation in Korea," their statement said, "where a civil struggle has been provoked and aggravated by two power-states to the point where it is already a major war." They find it impossible to support such policies, and decry them in this country and in every other. The statement concludes with a call for the abandonment of violence and the practice of brotherhood throughout the world.

Among the tax-refusers who signed the statement were Erness and Marion Bromley, Ava and Horace Champney, Fyke Farmer, Marion Frenyear, Walter Gormly, George Houser, Sander Katz, Emily and Walter Longstreth, A. J. Muste, Grace Rhoads, Edward and Elizabeth Richards, Francis and Valerie Riggs, Margaret Schauffler, Ralph and Lila Templin, and Caroline Urie.

Because of his refusal to pay back taxes, the 1949 Crosley station wagon belonging to Walter Gormly of Mt. Vernon, Iowa, was impounded by the Bureau of Internal Revenue and sold at auction. Friends picketed the auction with signs urging people not to bid on the car, and handed out leaflets explaining the tax refusal position.

Caravan Sends Grain to India

Symbolizing the spirit of compassion for the world's needy, students from nine states who were working as an FOR Peace Caravan in Philadelphia during February and March presented sacks of wheat to Clarence Pickett of the American Emergency Food Committee for India, and to Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, advisor to India's UN delegation, to be shipped to Prime Minister Nehru. By this act, the group sought to focus attention on efforts to obtain Congressional approval for the request for two million tons of grain for India, which had bogged down in Congress as a result of India's refusal to follow the United States in labeling Communist China an aggressor in the UN.

Peace Personalities Abroad

Urge French C.O. Recognition

A. J. Muste, on behalf of the fourteen thousand members of the U. S. FOR, telegraphed M. Rene Pleven, French Foreign Minister, at the French Embassy in Washington on January 31 to plead for expediting "introduction in National Assembly of your country bill granting legal recognition to conscientious objection to war. . . . If some free nations grant exemption for conscientious motives from military service . . . it appears unfortunate that in other allied nations such men should be treated as ordinary criminals."

The reply that came the next day gave "assurance that the question of proper legal treatment of conscientious objection is at the moment subject to careful consideration by the French government."

Children in India Send Thanks for Food

A set of letters written by children in India, each beautifully hand-decorated in color, has been recently received by the Committee on Relief and Reconstruction Services of the National Council of Churches. Each was written with great care in native script—one is translated here:

Our Well Wishing Friends:

To begin with please accept our greetings. We are pupils of St. Ninian's School. At present we have our Piya holidays and we are divided into four groups. The name of our group is the "Lily" group.

We were astonished at suddenly getting your unexpected gift and were very pleased. We understand how valuable your gift is when we think of the food problems everywhere at present. So please accept our heartfelt thanks.

Though we are unknown to you, you have with self sacrifice given such a big gift for the benefit of your unknown friends and we are everlastingly grateful to you. When we eat the vitamin pills and drink the milk we give thanks to God and remember you for God through your kind heartedness has given such help to the people of India.

Forgive the mistakes in the letter and accept our heartfelt thanks of gratitude. Lily Group

Procedure for Reservists May Be Liberalized

Two regular army reservists in Great Britain who were ordered to report to their units in September refused on grounds of conscience. Each received a sentence of ninety-two days' civil imprisonment at a court martial held in November, and served their sentences at Winchester prison.

Reservists who became pacifists soon after the conclusion of World War II were allowed to resign, but this policy was reversed when Korean operations began. The Minister of Labor has stated that procedure for reservist COs is under consideration and that they "would have an opportunity of being heard without first being subject to court martial."

I.F.O.R. Concerned About Refugee Situation

At the instance of the Council of the IFOR, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze has prepared a statement expressing deep concern over the condition of refugees in many parts of the world. It has been sent to the United Nations, to the International Refugee Organization, and to certain governments, with a view to securing action. The Council calls urgently for:

1. The recognition of the basic right of expelled persons to return to their homes;

2. Constructive help for all refugees so as to incorporate them into the economic and social life of their country of adoption;

3. The extension of the responsibility of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees to include all displaced and expelled persons and refugees of all categories without any discrimination as to origin or nationality;

4. The extension of the emigration facilities available to displaced persons to all categories of refugees, with the application of the practical experience of the IRO;

5. A greater generosity in the provision of immigration facilities on the part of nations in a position to take in refugees, and particularly the inclusion of non-earning members of the family.

Lebanon Refugees In Great Need

"One day you will find us dead in our houses when you come," a Southern Lebanon refugee said to a welfare worker not long ago. All wait eagerly for the monthly ration to arrive. Although it allows for no sugar, salt, matches or fuel people pour from tent, hovel, hut or rented cupboard-like room to receive their supply which with careful planning keeps the wolf a little distance from the door. Efforts to get work in a land in which officially every hindrance is put on work, are pathetic. Illness and trouble are everywhere and "thousands need sympathy and practical help," write resident missionaries from the British Syrian-Lebanese Mission at Tyre.

70,000 British Register as COs

Since the summer of 1939, seventy thousand Britishers have asked to be registered as COs. The proportion of COs at the June, 1950, registration, the last for which figures are available, was the highest since September, 1944.

Twenty-six British COs spent Christmas in prison.

Beautiful Kashmir Suffers in Hunger

Appalling suffering from the famine in Kashmir is reported by Mrs. Eulalie Hogan of Hollywood from India. She was in Kashmir in October and November, and travelled hundreds of miles in order to see the whole problem.

The devastation caused by last year's flood was unbelievable. Twenty-nine feet of water fell; roads and houses were washed away; and this glorious and beautiful land was plunged into extreme poverty. Groups of eight or ten people have been huddled together in little mud huts for months, some possessing a little food, others nothing, with weather below zero and people naked and starving.

Books

Games and War

The Universe Is My Hobby, by Dudley Zuver. Bond Wheelwright, 1950. 248 pp., $3.00.

It is a marvelous experience to open a new year, as I did 1951, with the reading of an unexpectedly good book, well written and dealing with fundamental matters in a lively and penetrating way.

Mr. Zuver begins by making the confession—astounding for an American—that he is not interested in games, has never even seen a big league ball game and does not expect to. This leads him to speculate in what is "that peculiar faculty of man which makes him a game-playing animal" and to ask whether it does not have something to do with the fact that man is also "the only war-making animal." He has noted that with men "war ceases to be murder, and is facetiously referred to as a program for spreading democracy. And in the field of battle men are not really killed; they are put out of action, like pins on the bowling alley."

The trouble arises from the fact that man has a mind and the mind manufactures ideas. The real world and man's ideas about it have some relation to each other, but they are not the same thing. So man begins to draw all sorts of distinctions and create dualisms that do not exist in the real world of which the real human being, as distinct from his mind, is a part. He posits a real world and an ideal one; matter and spirit; materialism and idealism; flesh and spirit; the individual and society; and so on and on.

Man is a sinner because he will not accept the real universe that God has created—a universe that man cannot bend to his will or whim, that will not stay put, and in which he must make moral decisions as to his dealings with other persons, who are not just thinking machines either. Instead of accepting these responsibilities man tries to construct an ideal universe in which everything is as *he* thinks it should be.

It is this passion to have his own way instead of obeying God's that leads man to invent games, for which *he* can make the rules. In playing his games he escapes from the real world into a "spiritual" one where he can be as immoral as he wants to be as long as he observes the rules of the game, and is "a good sport." Morality has to do with relations between actual persons living their lives, not "playing a game for the fun of it." That is why politics is "a game in the strict, accurate sense, and marriage a personal relation," and why "the two are utterly incompatible."

All sorts of things follow. One part of man's life being made into something artificial—play—makes the rest of man's activity—work—also artificial, and both are boring. Moreover, the tendency of all games is toward perfection by means of greater and greater

mechanization, and work also becomes increasingly "unreal" and mechanical. The tendency of knowing for the sake of knowing, as in "pure" science, is also to make a mechanical thing, an "object," of everything, rather than a living being who belongs to a living universe. This is diabolical. Intention and choice or decision, which are inherent in moral life, vanish.

Science has thus demoralized and depersonalized the universe and made a "laboratory specimen" out of it. "The same spirit that engenders science"—the thirst for knowledge for its own sake, the demand for an orderly universe that man wants to control and dominate—"is responsible for the madness that abuses its benefits. The mania to turn its discoveries to evil purposes is itself a manifestation of the scientific impulse. . . . The intellect that designed the radio is precisely the same mind that is content to spend the evening playing with it. The people who made the atomic bomb wanted to be the first to use it. The wages of sin is death."

Turn again for a moment to Zuver's comments on war: "Likely the men who dropped the bombs on Hiroshima did not intend to kill thousands of Japanese. They were just playing, wondering if the thing would go off and display the effects the laboratory sheets showed. . . . They didn't intend doing what they actually did. The tragedy of the world always lies in the fact that too many human beings have forfeited the capacity to intend anything at all. Anyone can play; and since play is destitute of moral implications, a player can do anything at all without being judged."

I have not begun to exhaust the riches of this book nor adequately to illustrate its humor and wit. There are magnificent passages on the "Jewish problem," on the Old Testament, on Jesus. It is not, of course, an elementary work, but it is eminently readable.

Zuver also discusses the thing we speak of as moral power, the "power of truth and nonviolence." For example, "that men of no faith cannot bestir an anthill unless they kick it with their shoe, does not prove that a man of faith cannot move a mountain. That a prayer crooned by a radio announcer produces no appreciable effect is no argument as to what the prayer of a righteous man might accomplish. For the Power of God is the very stuff and substance of this created world; God is the Power to organize and integrate. The capacity to direct the motions of material bodies is, on the other hand, the sole power science bestows. In being a real person, a man ceases to act according to the knowledge of external energies, and becomes instead a mode or vehicle of God's Will."

—A. J. M.

Gandhi's Religion

The Mahatma and the Missionary, Selected Writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Henry Regnery Co., 1949. $2.00.

This is a collection of some of Gandhi's writings on different religions. In it he expresses his clear convictions on other religions, especially Christianity, in the followers of which he sees the same strength and weaknesses he finds in the devotees of other faiths. He tells of a Wesleyan church where "the sermons seemed to be uninspiring. The congregation did not

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strike me as being particularly religious." Some of his early contacts with Christians were with members of historic peace churches, Quakers and Brethren, whom he described as seeking to convert him and hence not fully respecting him and his own religious faith.

Gandhi believed that "all faiths constitute a revelation of Truth," that we should have "reverence for other faiths," and should "think it our duty to blend into our faith every acceptable feature of other faiths." On the other hand he felt all faiths had some errors in them. "Whilst I believe that the principal books are inspired, they suffer from a process of double distillation. Firstly they come through a human prophet, and then through the commentaries of interpreters. Nothing in them comes from God directly. Matthew may give one version of one text, and John give another. I cannot surrender my reason whilst I subscribe to divine revelation."

At another point he condemns the spirit of dogmatism in religious persons, saying: "It is an essentially untrue position to take, for a seeker after truth, that he alone is in absolute possession of truth."

The reading of Gandhi's comments on Christian missions and what he calls "commercial aspects" of missions, is a humbling experience for those of us who have supported missions without inquiring as to the kind of mission activities carried on by those whom we have sent to India, China and elsewhere.

Although these essays evaluate and at times are critical of the attitudes of the exponents of various religious faiths, the book as a whole is a story of Gandhi's own religious quest and search for truth. He comes to this conclusion: "There is no truer or other evangelism tha life. I should like to see all me not only in India but in the wor belonging to different faiths, b come better people by contact wi one another and, if that happer the world will be a much bett place to live in than it is today."

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, J

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Letters

Power Corrupts

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Many pacifists, naturally dissatisfied with the major political parties, have aligned themselves with the Socialists. Others, like myself, consider themselves decentralists. And some try riding both of these horses at the same time without realizing that they are going in different directions.

In reply to Mr. Mecartney's letter in the February FELLOWSHIP, the reason I don't support the Socialist Party is not because of its position in Korea, not because it isn't a pacifist party, not because I believe it to be undemocratic, but rather because I do not believe that the way to peace, freedom and prosperity is through government.

The only solid foundation for a successful social order, it seems to me, is the individual conscience. And in order for this force to be effective institutions must be small enough so that individuals can feel themselves to be a significant part and can exert what influence they have. When government becomes too big for this it becomes a master rather than a servant.

Witness our own huge, blundering, immoral federal government, for example. It has now become such a monster that the average citizen has no power at all in directing its course and most of them, realistically, don't even try. For that matter, it is doubtful if even the most powerful politician or economic czar can greatly alter its course. In fact, I might go even further—our government has become so big with a will and a way all of its own that no mind can completely encompass it or tell just which way it is going or why.

Furthermore, whereas I have the greatest respect for Norman Thomas, Darlington Hoopes and any other Socialist leaders I know anything about, and readily accept the statement that the party is democratic, I very much doubt that Socialists, any more than any other mere humans, could withstand the tremendous psychological effect of having power. Lord Acton's phrase that "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" seems to stand the test of history. But even if we assume that present Socialist leaders could rise above such corruption you may be sure that, once their party got control of the government, power-hungry, self-seeking politicians would swarm to their banners like bees to honey. The only reason the Socialist Party is democratic and made up of unselfish idealists is because it is small and has little or no political power.

The answer to this problem, it seems to me, is to cut all of our institutions—economic, political, and social—down to human size—in a word, decentralize. I haven't the space or ability to present a blueprint, but some good work is being done under this head by Ralph Borsodi, Wilfred Wellock and others and I think pacifists would do well to give this approach more thought. As yet the decentralist ranks are thin and there's lots of new ground that hasn't been plowed.

And one of the beautiful things about decentralization is that you don't have to wait for any political party to get in power. If you really love freedom, and if you want the type of security that satisfies

instead of stupefies, you can always map out your own personal decentralist program and put it into effect *now.*

CHARLES WORLEY
Winslow, Arkansas

Pacifist Parties

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The Socialist Party is not the most pacifist political group. The Socialist Labor Party and the World Socialist Party are both orthodox Marxist, and are not only opposed to the war in Korea, but oppose all wars fought for capitalism and oppose bringing about socialism by means of war. The SLP and WSP will support war only if, after a socialist society is created, it is attacked by capitalists. Both parties have produced COs, a member of the SLP being the only CO sentenced to death in World War II. [Sentence was later reduced to five years.] A third group, the Libertarian Socialist League, is also more pacifist than the Socialist Party. The LSL was formed about two years ago largely by members of the Socialist Party, in protest against the SP adopting a more conservative position, supporting the Atlantic Pact, etc. The LSL, while having a much broader program than the SLP or WSP, has no members who support the Korean war and is in favor of bringing about changes in society only by peaceful means. Its national headquarters are in New York (address: P. O. Box 770, New York 1, N. Y.) and it welcomes all pacifists who believe in socialism.

It is true that the Socialist Party vice-presidential candidate in 1944 was a pacifist as was, I might add, their candidate in 1916. However in both 1916 and 1944 their presidential candidates were pro war. At the present time the SP is supporting the Korean war. The stand on this question was taken unanimously by their National Executive Committee.

During the war it was agreed by Socia ist Party leaders that pacifists cons tuted about twenty-five percent of t party membership. Since the war, ho ever, this percentage has been reduce largely due to resignations of pacifis

It is true that Gandhi urged that e be fought by violence rather than it n be fought at all. However, this is reason why the Socialist Party shou be supported when it urges war again the evil communism. As a pacifist I pr fer that persons remain cowardly or i different rather than support a w against communism or any other evil.

Pacifists should not defend a par that supports the number one point the foreign policy of the US and the U Pacifists should take part only in tho political groups that oppose both arm camps.

ROBERT S. AUERBA
New York, N. Y.

Keep Trying

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I would like to second John Mecartne views as expressed in his letter in t February FELLOWSHIP. I am one of t Socialist Party members who is not pacifist and supported the Socialist Par stand on UN action in Korea.

Mecartney has pointed out some ve interesting facts. The Socialist Party h always, does now, and probably alwa will work for both peace and socialis The stand of the Socialist Party is f from the militaristic stand of the maj parties and the strong pacifist minor position within the party is one of t safeguards of that anti-war tendency. T democratic structure of the S.P. allo for change should a majority see t pacifist stand on Korea. The Socialis main concern is the elimination of t economic motives for war. Eliminate tho and the pacifist road will be easier.

As a nonpacifist who reads your literature and is much influenced by your viewpoints let me take this opportunity to wish the pacifists of the FOR, WRL, etc., the best of luck. Keep up the struggle to bring peace to the world and remember that you have many "near-pacifists" and others who can aid you in your work against conscription, for disarmament, etc. Many nonpacifists, too, see the waste and immorality of war but do not yet agree that a complete pacifist program is the answer. Some, like myself, see armed force as an evil—but yet sometimes a more acceptable alternative—to dictatorship. Many nonpacifists also see the need—the very important role—of a pacifist minority to keep the emphasis on war to a bare minimum if not actually eliminating it.

STANLEY R. BORENSTEIN
Denver, Colorado

Letter from India

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have read with interest Mr. Mashruwala's letter in your September issue. He feels India must act unilaterally for disarmament, and regardless of immediate results. Gandhi held that India's traditions fitted her for such a brave venture.

May I point out that Gandhi not merely conformed to India's past but also trod upon new ground? Let me try to explain.

Gandhi held that defense through nonviolence became possible only when the object to be defended was one which had not been gained through violence.

"Q. Is it possible to defend by nonviolence anything which can only be gained through violence?

"A. It followed from what Gandhiji had said that what was gained by violence could not only not be defended by nonviolence but the latter required the abandonment of ill-gotten gains.

"Q. Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence whether open or tacit?

"A. Such accumulation by private persons was impossible except through violent means, but accumulation by the State in a nonviolent society was not only possible, it was desirable and inevitable."

—Selections from Gandhi, No. 767

This was the reason why Gandhi held that freedom should mean "freedom from alien yoke in every sense of the term, and this for the sake of the dumb millions. Every interest that is hostile to their interest, must be revised or must subside if it is not capable of revision." (*Selections*, No. 291) He also said in course of a speech in London in 1931 that "If the National Government comes to the conclusion that (a certain palace) is unnecessary (in the best interest of the Nation), no matter what interests are concerned, they will be dispossessed, and they will be dispossessed, I may tell you, without any compensation, because if you want the Government to pay compensation, it will have to rob Peter to pay Paul, and that would be impossible." (*Selections*, No. 292).

Such economic reorganization, or internal purification of economic life in India, yet seems to be far off. And a new difficulty has been created by our Constitution. It says,

"24. No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession or acquired for public purposes under any law authorizing the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for the payment of compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined."

Thus although Gandhi knew that India, with its long tradition of nonviolence practiced by selected groups, who were held in high esteem, was more *likely* to adopt Satyagraha as a substitute for war, yet he also knew that without a corresponding reorganization of economic relations based on the principle of nonviolence, such an attempt to rule out war would be an empty thing.

This is where he broke new ground; and if we are prepared to follow him there, we shall be afterwards in a position to try Satyagraha for the resolution of world-wide international conflicts. Without that endeavor, the necessary moral prestige will never come to us, however much we may worship the Master by word of mouth.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE
Calcutta, India

New Money

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Last spring I put my name on the list of professional blood donors at one of the local hospitals. To date I have "sold" twice at $25 a pint. I think it might help to consecrate this value to peace (really insignificant compared to blood that is "let" in other causes) but I'd like to use part of the value through our peace organization. Enclosed find some of it; I plan to use the rest for CARE packages or other direct relief.

ORA HAHNERT
Logansport, Indiana

ALLAN HUNTER

(*Continued from page* 18)

that potentiality as purely and boldly as possible.

The newspapers don't turn t searchlight on this truth. But t Son of Man does. His faith in t potentiality with which the S preme Being has endowed H children is so startling that if H followers really acted on it—a why shouldn't we make a try? the prevailing spell of "mutual te ror" would soon be broken. T "mutual terror" on which Church says our peace depends, is on faith in the wrong things. We c shift our faith over to the rig things. If we do, we may find wi Saint Paul that "It is no we Christ we have to deal with but Christ of power." We may eve discover as he did that Christ within us.

We don't have what it take Certainly our egos don't. But say that the unlimited good w of God is unable to penetrate o deep will and the deep will of tho who oppose us is blasphemy. Eg inadequacy is not the issue. God adequacy is. If disillusionme helps us act on *that* major premis it's worth our present grief. There fore with Fenelon "let us rejoice learn the hollowness and unreali of all that is not God; it is th crucial experience which snatche us from self and the world. Let u rejoice for by such travail the ne man is born in us."

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Ten Questions On Prayer

By Gerald Heard

Last year Gerald Heard went across the country, stopping here and there to speak, and to meet with interested groups of people. In one of these groups of sincere, concerned, deeply religious people, most of them no longer novices in the life of prayer, the questions that were asked and the answers he gave were written down. These questions, and Gerald Heard's simple, deep-striking, highly intelligible answers make up this pamphlet, just published by Pendle Hill. Those who are new to the life of prayer will find understandable and valuable insights here from a man who is widely regarded as one of its leading exponents; and those who are experienced, seeing farther and deeper, will recognize and benefit by the further implications embodied in the answers.

35c

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And then again—

there's another book FOR members ought to keep in mind, one that has recently come out and which is highly recommended by A. J. Muste. (See page 25.) It is entitled

The UNIVERSE Is My HOBBY

This one is by Dudley Zuver, who is an editor, author and critic. Mr. Zuver writes about games, and the way modern man creates a play world in preference to being a whole, moral man in the Universe God made. This play attitude is transferred to everything he does, so that "war ceases to be murder, and is facetiously referred to as a program for spreading democracy. And on the field of battle, other men are not really killed; they are put out of action, like pins on the bowling alley." This book is also

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